7: Linton E-5 (1920-1921) 1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

lections are of celluloid and the carving on such objects is often superior to that on those of genuine tortoise shell. There are indications that the traders went even further in the *paekaha* trade, for the plaques in a specimen seen in Pua Ma'u, Hiva Oa, seem to have been stamped in a mold. The material used was apparently vulcanized rubber. 292 237 321

Paekaha were made by special *tuhuna*, and according to Handy were paid for in pigs. Land was not legal tender in this case, because the *paekaha* was worn on the head, and if a woman walked on the land given in payment it would be as though she stepped over the head of the owner of the *paekaha*, a great defilement. The holes in the plaques were made with a pump drill and the carvings executed, in ancient times, with rats' teeth. [436] [784]

Paekaha were worn by both men and women and in view of the large number preserved in collections it is rather curious that neither Cook nor Fleurieu mention them in their accounts of the southern islands although they speak of other headdresses for whose existence we have little other evidence. This would seem to strengthen the evidence for their Fatu Hivan origin, and it seems probable that they became popular in the other islands of the group only in historic times.

In contrast to this silence in regard to the *paekaha* we have an abundance of early references to another sort of shell and tortoise shell headdress, the *uhikana* (Handy). Cook says (14, p. 309-310):

> Their principle headdress, and what appears to be their chief ornament, is a sort of broad fillet, curiously made of the fibers of the husks of coconuts. In the front is fixed a mother of pearl shell wrought round to the size of a tea saucer. Before that another, smaller, of very fine tortoise shell, and perforated in curious figures. Also before and in the center of that, is another round piece of mother of pearl, about the size of half a crown, and before this another piece of perforated tortoise shell the size of a shilling. Beside this decoration in front, some have it also on each side, but in smaller pieces: and all have fixed to them the tail feathers of cocks or tropic birds, which, when the fillet is tied on, stand upright: so that the whole together makes a very sightly ornament.

Plate LXXXI, *C* shows the back of one of these ornaments and the inside of the head band. The bands were plaited in the same way as those of the *paekaha*. The pearl shell, of the largest size available, was ground to a regular outline and drilled near the center with two or more holes for attachment.

A very fine specimen, now in the Peabody Museum of Salem, is shown on Plate LXXXII, *C*. The final disc of tortoise shell is missing—possibly it was never there. The design on the large tortoise shell disc is of the same general type as that illustrated by Cook (14, p. 310). There are indications that two distinct conventions were employed in the carving of these discs.

> One convention was characterized by a round disc with elaborate tracery, and an absence of human figures. In the other the disc was oval and from the top center rose two large hooks, with their tips pointing outward. Radiating from the center of the oval were six rather large tiki heads, with the spaces between cut away. Bordering the oval, and joining the tops of the heads, was a continuous band, toothed on the outer edge and delicately pierced and traced. *Uhikana*, in which the oval discs were used, seem usually to have had the ends of the bands covered with plates of mother of pearl and tortoise shell like those used on *paekaa*. Those with round discs lacked the plates. It seems probable that these conventions represent local